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unless they immediately abandon their lands and habitations.

Second, That a committee of Magistrates be appointed to sit on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the chapter-room of the Cathedral Church of Armagh, to receive information respecting all persons, of whatever descriptions, who disturb the peace of this county.

Third, That the instructions of the whole body of the Magistracy to their committee shall be to use every legal means within their power to stop the progress of the persecution now coming on by an ungovernable mob against the Catholics of this county.

Fourth, That said committee, or any three of them, be empowered to expend any sum of money for information or secret service, out of the funds subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

Fifth, That a meeting of the whole magistracy of this county be held every second Monday, at the house of Charles M'Reynolds, to hear the reports of their committee, and to give such further instructions as the exigency of the times may require.

Sixth, That offenders of every description in the present disturbances shall be prosecuted at the public expence, out of the funds subscribed by the gentlemen of this county; and to carry this resolution into effect, it is resolved that Mr. Arthur Irwin be appointed law agent to the Magistrates.

The above resolutions being read, were unanimously agreed to, and the committee nominated. Lord Gosford having left the chair, and Sir Capel Molyneux being requested to take it,

Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of this meeting be presented to Lord Viscount Gosford, for his proper conduct in convening the Magistrates of the county, and his impartiality in the chair.

Gosford.
 Capel Molyneux.
 William Richardson.
 Arthur Jacob M'Can.
 Robert Bernard Sparrow.
 Alexander Thomas Steuart.
 Michael Obins.
 Hugh Hamilton.
 Joshua M'Geough.
 James Verner.
 Richard Allott.
 Stewart Blacker.
 Robert Livingston.
 John Ogle.
 William Clarke.
 Charles M. Warburton.
 William Lodge.
 William Biset.
 Thomas Quin.
 Owen O'Callaghan.
 John Maxwell.
 William Irwin.
 James Harden.
 James Dawson.
 William Barker.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

ON the first day of the Year, we purchased a Dublin Almanac, not so much for the purpose of seeing the changes of the Moon, or the high feasts and fasts of the calendar, as for marking the mutations that have occurred in the world around us; the vicissitudes of human affairs; how many, in this battle of life, yet bold to their *posts* and their *places*; and how many have been shouldered, since the last year, into the gulf of dark forgetfulness and deep oblivion!

We looked over the pages of this heterogeneous assemblage of names, from the high treasury-board, to the petty barrack master, not, we acknowledge, with those gloting eyes which placemen and pensioners, in all their gradations, throw upon this blest and blessing-book, when, after an evening's careful study of its invaluable contents, they exclaim, in the satisfaction of their souls, "Oh! how much better than Blackstone and De Lolme, does this precious vo-

lume expound the inestimable privileges, or rather the prerogatives of us British Protestant subjects, for what are partial privileges, posts, and places, but prerogatives of us, the kingly portion of the Irish people?"

For our parts, (and we too are Protestants,) we confess we have looked over this Almanac with other eyes, and other feelings. We have viewed it with a bitter smile, and it has drawn from us an indignant sigh. We have beheld in it a true but unsightly portraiture of Protestant ascendancy, the exposition of toleration in its *real* meaning and extent. Dr. Duigenan, who "roars so loud and thunders in the *index*;" who, like Harpagon's coachman in *L'Avare* of Moliere, qualifies himself on the instant, by a change of dress for every variety of office, is the best expositor of such scriptures as we are speaking of. He may perhaps favour the public with a course of lectures on this manual of monstrous monopolism; and, in good truth, after turning over this long and lengthening list of the head men and tail men of the state; of the commissioners in nearly twenty different departments; of offices, companies, chambers, societies; courts major, metropolitan, prerogative; boards of general officers, of education, of works, even of bog surveying, all well salaried, or in daily expectation of being so; such hosts of directors, solicitors, delegates, tellers, governors, bankers, assistant-barristers, agents, barrack-masters, city-officers, clerks, trustees, collectors, college-fellows, masters, &c. &c; in short, all the privileged pensionaries in this register of Protestant posts and places, military, maritime, legal, financial, mercantile, and magisterial, while the Catholic population and property are—as they are; we then lay down this little book,

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called Almanac, as softly as we are able, but not without exclaiming, in our turn, "Just Heaven, into what a system of flagrant favouritism, of portentous partiality, has the fair and honest Constitution of Britain been perverted on this side of the narrow channel that separates these islands, a narrow channel in geography, but in political economy, and political justice, how great is the gulf between them!"

We really could wish that some bold statesman, (if any one can be called too bold in the cause of his country,) would make a presentation of the book called "The Dublin Almanac," to the Prince Regent; with the title of "Protestant Ireland," and a *blank* leaf at the end, inscribed, "Catholic Ireland, a population of five millions." because, we think, that this indeed would form a volume of evidence upon the state of the country, the practical abuses of the constitution, and might awaken the inmost soul of the Prince to the necessity of a more fair distribution of its honours and its profits. We repeat it, this Almanac, the abridgment of these honours and these profits, this breviary of Protestant ascendancy, this manual of monstrous monopolism, is sufficient to make the scales fall from the eyes of the most prejudiced, did not use gradually wear out the stamp of nature.

We remember, when children, how we were taught to admire the trick at cards, by which ranging them in a circle, supposed to represent the motley crew of Turks and Christians in a vessel straitened for sustenance, when an agreement was made that every ninth man in the circle was to be cast overboard, we remember our admiration of the dexterous manœuvre of place and position, by which every one of the turbaned Turks was sacrificed, and the Christians got sole possession of

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the vessel. Whether it be from nature or education, the moral powers appear later in their full development than those of the understanding; and the intellect of the heart, if we may term it so, remains confused and indistinct, when that of the head is fully expanded. Still farther advanced in life, we considered our countrymen, then reproachfully called Papists, with feelings as repulsive as those we had exercised against the Turks.

Had we then occupied a short line in the Almanac, it is too probable we should have, throughout the journey of life, followed in the rut of the Protestant ascendancy; disguising from others, and, as well as we could, from ourselves, the love of domination and the sweets of office, in exaggerated loyalty, and a high-flown zeal for the exclusive excellence of the glorious Constitution. But, fortunately for our peace of mind, we have never put our hand into this alms-basket of the state; yet, notwithstanding, it requires a maturity of intellect, a sinewy well-knit strength of soul to wrestle with, and keep down those early cradle prejudices, that are so often suffered to grow with our growth, and strengthen with our strength. Even our very zeal for liberty may impose upon us, as we recollect from our own experience it did, when, many years ago, we were persuaded by tremulous politicians to believe, and openly assert, that the Catholics of Ireland were "*incapable of political freedom*," "*not yet prepared* for the exercise of civic rights," thus making the very incapacity which Protestant intolerance had solely created, an argument for the continuance of the penal code of exclusion, and artfully staving off the period of enlargement into the common rights of citizenship, by the necessity of a

course of preparation, indefinite as to time, and of which the Protestant ascendancy itself was to determine the extent.

The national misfortunes of Ireland have originated from, and kept pace with a mere *misunderstanding* between its inhabitants. How far, and how long, this misunderstanding had been kept up to serve the political purposes of a provincial government; how far to serve the ends of a profession which has always been more prone to make distinctions, than to reconcile differences in matters of religion, it will be the business of the historian to detail, and in doing so, to furnish a signal example how long men of the same country, condensed into one little island, "*twinn'd brothers of the same womb*," may be kept estranged from each other, and blinded to their true interests, both in earth and in Heaven, by the mistakes or the management of go-betweens.

The matter of fact is, that, during the last twenty years, the growth of a good understanding between the inhabitants of this country, and the progress of that assimilation in its parts, which is essentially necessary to the formation of a *civil society*, have been uniformly advancing. The system of the *Almanac*, the Orange system, which is, in reality, under a modern name, the system of Strongbow, of Cromwell, and, we will not hesitate to add, of William III. (who, however to be respected as the Deliverer of England, is to be remembered as having always conducted himself towards Ireland in the spirit and practice of William the Conqueror.*) This anti-social sys-

* We cannot praise beyond its merits, the enlightened and eloquent speech of Counsellor O'Gorman at the Derry Sessions, and particularly the truly liberal and discriminating judgment he made upon

tem that has so long played upon, and would wish much longer to play upon the bigotry of parties and sects for its private emolument, is, we firmly believe, rapidly dissolving, and the approach of that dissolution is indicated even by the strength of its convulsions. It is discountenanced by government, at length grown wise by the lessons of experience, and instructed by the signs of the times. It has lost its hold in the hearts of the higher and influential orders of the community. It is as it were driven from the open profession and practice of life, into the bogs of bigotry, and the morasses of mystery.

the merits and demerits of William III., who, in England, conducted himself on the principles of a just and necessary Revolution; but in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland, on the principles and practice of *Conquest*. The truth is, that in those days (as long before, and not a short time after,) these parts of the present empire were considered as of necessity subjected rather to a military rule, than to a constitutional subordination; and a man of military habits, like William, was the more readily, by interested persons, imposed upon into the belief, that the sceptre could never properly subject these outskirts of the empire, without a constant employment of the sword, or of law that had the operation of the sword. But to exalt the character of King William's government in Ireland, is the bigotry of one party, a selfish bigotry at bottom, which might, with equal justice, vindicate the massacre at Glencoe. And, on the other hand, to depreciate or damn the whole character of King William on the partial view often taken of it, is the bigotry of ignorance, equally unjust, and can only be removed, as a cataract on the eye of the public intellect, by an operation equally bold and skilful. Such has been performed by Mr. O'Gorman, at the very critical time, (if he will pardon the allusion taken from another profession,) and with equal dexterity and resolution; he has couched the cataract, (and what else is bigotry?) which obstructed a clear vision, and a sound judgment upon an important object of public policy.

In spite of all endeavours before made, the common-sense and sensibilities of Irishmen led them to approximate; and, in spite of the more petty endeavours now made, they will assimilate into one nation. They that touched but in a single point, as spheres, will, in no long time, maintain the solid apposition of cubes. Twenty years ago, we were accosted in one of the outskirts of the metropolis, by a gentleman whom we had never seen before, in the following words, "Will you," said he, "shake hands with an Irish Catholic?" He spoke the words with an affectionate and winning cordiality, yet repressed with a degree of hesitation and restraint. Concord, union, and sympathy, were the result of that conversation; and we rejoice, in looking back to an incident where fidelity in friendship was ratified between two individuals in the high-minded enthusiasm of the moment; we rejoice to see how much, since that period, the casual private feeling has grown into the public principle, and even into the government principle, converted, as we think government itself is, into a belief, that the most effectual way of making the *least* of a country, is by the continuance of political monopoly, the *system of the Almanac*.

We expatiate on the glaring inequality and iniquity of this most selfish system, not to irritate the passions, but to assist, as far as we can, the calm and triumphant progress of reason and true policy. The Catholic Body are trained, disciplined, and if we may say so, organized into constitutional courses of redress, and submission to existing law, by the Board; which, happily for the support of social order, for the maintenance of due subordination, for the prevention of anarchy, enjoys the confidence of the people; and long may it enjoy that confidence. It has done much in

the political education of that people; in the progress of political knowledge; and in acquiring a most useful censorial authority, not only over a blind zeal in some of its own members, but over the morals and manners of the Catholic population. It has to contend with bigotry of all kinds, both political and religious; that bigotry in one party, (the Almanac party,) which is founded on mistaken views of public, and even of personal interest, and that bigotry in their own party, which is apt to arise from those strong predilections so often unfortunately accompanied, in matters of religion, with equally strong antipathies.

The protracted discussion of the Catholic question, the constant collision of superior minds in this confidential assembly, (a collision which not only illuminates the intellect, but excites the electricity of the heart,) have been of essential service to this country, as well as to the whole empire. The Board, we think, has done perfectly right in discouraging that spirit of proselytism, which never fails, when attended with power, to become a spirit of persecution;* and suffering, as it has done, under the pains and penalties of political exclusions, it will never sanction in any of its members, what in the event would lead to the very same fatal consequences, the maxim of an exclusive religion. On the 24th December, it was resol-

ved "That the sentiments expressed by Dr. Dromgoole are not the opinions or sentiments entertained by the Catholic Board;" and, considering all the circumstances of the case, with their own delicate situation, we are happy in their having made a positive, rather than negative disclaimer, however irresponsible the Board might be for the sentiments of an individual. This disclaimer forms a necessary *scholium* to the resolution of the Doctor, which was unanimously approved of at a former meeting, and which, however decisive in maintaining the independence and integrity of the Catholic religion, in discipline as well as doctrine, was not to be misinterpreted into the least desire of a spiritual monopoly, which would wish to exclude or extinguish dissenting sects, under the attribute of the Catholic, or *universal* church; an epithet which we must candidly confess is liable to some ambiguity in its practical application.* The politics of the Board are founded upon the broad basis of political justice; and the religion of the Board is founded on the Catholicism of Christianity, which, in the words of its teacher, would protect all her children alike, "as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings."

Let the Catholic Board continue, in speech and writing, to promulgate great truths to the Irish people;

* To convert the Indian population to Christianity, is the prevailing fashion of the day, and will undoubtedly lead to persecution when this conversion is resisted. In India, there has always been the most entire and perfect toleration. The Hindoos, who respect all other religions, who will not suffer a convert to enter the pale of their church, (but is not this a kind of persecution?) seek not to disturb the consciences of others.

* "The religion of the Spanish nation is, and shall be perpetually Catholic, apostolic, and Roman, the only true religion. The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatever."

Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, by the Supreme Junta, 12th March, 1812.

"The religion shall be the Catholic, apostolic, Roman alone, to the entire exclusion of every other."

Constitution of Sicily, July, 1812.

and every great political truth is connected closely with the subject of their petition. While the scholars are taught, even the masters will learn. The light of true patriotism will disperse the fog of theology. Let them continue to take every constitutional advantage of the height and authority of their present legal situation, to advance their individual characters; to distinguish themselves particularly in the study and practice of oratory, and to make the members of another assembly exclaim, "Are these the men whom we would condemn to the perpetual solitude and silence of political imprisonment? These the men who are ignorant and incapable of the British Constitution?"

Let the Board receive the free-gift and *benevolence* of the people, that universal subsidy which may be necessary to defray the expences of the petition, and to protect the oppressed; but at the same time, be extremely cautious in creating any *fund*, which never fails, we think, to create discord; and to alienate the attention of such assemblies from the most noble purposes to the most sordid and degrading. The result of the late application of the Board for pecuniary assistance, will demonstrate whether Catholic emancipation be an object of desire even to the *very lowest* rank of the people; and if the result should be as is expected, it will certainly be a means of incorporating and identifying the whole population of the country more intimately with that object. The purse of the Board ought to remain in the pocket of the people; and then occasional drafts upon it will not only be a measure of popularity, but a criterion of character in those who at present possess the public confidence, and whose great aim is to do nothing which may forfeit a reputation that once lost, never can be restored.

We believe there never was a stronger unanimity in any mass of men than at present prevails among the Catholics of Ireland, in regard not only to the nature, but to the mode and extent of their emancipation. The personal or partial opposition in their own body, will soon be assimilated into the *mass*; and the continued pursuit of civil liberty, joined to a system of general instruction, will moderate and mollify that exclusive religious zeal which is really selfish rather than social; and which, in a few, and we believe, but a few, would prompt to the same spirit of intolerance under which they themselves have so long suffered. True religious zeal is that which inspired Fenelon, the grace and glory of the Catholic church, as Melancthon* was of the Protestant Church. True religious zeal is the chariot of flame, which lifts us beyond earth and earthly attractions, and translates us, living, into heaven. But exclusive zeal is a smouldering, yet consuming fire, which is fed by the fuel of antipathies, and devours all the social affections.

We are strongly impressed with a conviction, that in the present state and singular circumstances of Ireland, no means under heaven can conduce more to the support of tranquillity and good order, than the permanence of the Catholic Board;

* We remember with delight the character of that reformer. "A man learned without ostentation, and too wise to think himself infallible: resolute, but never rash; mild, yet never timid; opposing what he thought wrong in one party, without joining in the passion of the other; and calm under oppression, because he knew himself to be honest: subjecting himself to persecution, because he would not persecute others, and labouring for the benefit of those by whom he was ill-treated."

and we trust in God, that no misguided zeal or jealousy will influence the legislature in putting down an authority, which, possessing the popular confidence, can exercise such power in restraining all tendency to disorder among a turbulent people; and which, in reality accelerates, while it superintends, both the moral and political education of the country. Anarchy and disturbance would, in the present state of things, be the consequence of their precipitate dissolution. That credit with, and authority over the people, which may exert such influence on morals and manners, are in a great degree owing to their reflecting, in their own body, the strong features of *national character*, but in this contracted society, tempered and restrained by responsibility, property, and profession. The people are thus *personated* in their virtues, not in their vices; in their zeal, but not their bigotry; in their vehemence of speech, but not in their violence of conduct; in their generous and magnanimous feelings, not in their occasional fanaticism. The Catholic Board is a thermometer of the public opinion. It is a mere appointee for a particular purpose, for a particular trust, which once accomplished, it instantly and spontaneously dissolves. It bears to the people the relation of counsellor to client; but by no means or meaning, the relation of representatives to constituents. They indeed wish to be more fully represented in the legislature; and it is natural they should have this wish, when two of their oldest and best Protestant friends are still so ignorant of their real meaning and intention, as to think they would usurp the character or functions of the Commons house of Parliament.

It is a lamentable thing to see that when men have been, for the great-

est part of their lives, as it were, incorporated with the lower house, or with the upper house, first their sentiments, then their habits, and at last their whole cast of character, are insensibly moulded upon the prevalent manners of *these* bodies, and gradually contract a greater strangeness, a greater shyness, a more polite, but repulsive formality, with *the body of the people*; as if they said, "we have long ceased to belong to you; but shall always be ready and willing to do a service to our good old friends, of whom we love to cherish the remembrance; but indeed, my dear Sirs, allow us to say, you are strangely ignorant of *etiquette*, and those observances which hold the place of sacred laws in the select companies of which we are, and long have been, humble members; whose honour, privileges, prerogatives, we consider ourselves bound, in the minutest article, to support and maintain." Thus it is that many of our most excellent senators look upon the Catholic Board; much as the senators of Rome did at first upon *him* from Arpinum, a "*novus homo, inquilinus civis urbis Romæ*," in their aristocratical estimation; "*sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia postfuere.*" In short, we do not think it at all surprising that the Catholics of Ireland should labour night and day to get themselves more adequately represented, and better understood in the Parliament of the empire, when they have been rendered so ill into English by their closest Protestant friends and interpreters. A good translation must not only give the full sense, but preserve the character of the original:

"True to his sense, but truer to his fame."

Generations passed away during the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and a whole life time has

been dedicated even to the narration of that event by an eminent historian; but in the space of a few months, the pompous pageant of the French Empire beyond its proper territories, verges to its downfall. It wanted time to consolidate; and it was founded rather on the surface of shifting circumstances, than sunk into the habits of men or the necessity of things. It could not be the defection of circumstances in a single battle that occasioned this rapid reverse in the fortunes of Napoleon, but must rather be attributed to the precariousness and instability of power which rests merely on the talents of an individual; and not less, to the premature endeavours of that individual in forcibly conjoining under his absolute government, merely for one particular object of hostility against another nation, different people of characters the most incongruous and irreconcilable, without any respect to their prejudices, their habits, or their inclinations. His life, he says, has but one object, the happiness of the French; and as for the rest of the Empire, he designates it under the phrase of "*conquests we have made*;" thereby declaring openly that exclusive monopolism of the superior blessings of society, which he would denounce to the world as the intolerable injustice of Britain. He distinguishes himself even among all sovereigns, by the royalism of his ideas and his conduct; by a military contempt of the popular opinion; and even in the last report of his extraordinary commission, he accuses the allies, because they have addressed themselves to the European public. "It is no longer to *Kings* like themselves that they explain their grievances, and send their manifestoes; it is to the *people* that they address them at this period, when *people's* minds, agitated by all the diseases of pride, are so averse

in bending under the authority which protects them, while it represses their audacity."

Indeed, all the documents lately published by the French government contain a heterogeneous mixture of appealing to the sense of the people, and yet disdainful of popular opinion, betraying, amidst a strained elevation of language, a wonderful humiliation in the matter, and even flattering and interceding with some members of the coalition. "The first duty," it is said, "towards the people, is Truth;" but, ah! is it only in extreme exigencies of governments, that they pronounce this invaluable sentiment, and, on all other occasions, is Truth a disloyalty and a libel?

In the mean time, and notwithstanding their moderate and pacific manifesto, (perhaps in *its* design a warlike manoeuvre,) the armies of the Allies continue hostilities, and have crossed the Rhine, with an utter contempt of the neutrality of Switzerland. France is invaded in Bearn, Alsace, Franche Comté, Brabant, and Navarre; and it will be shortly seen, whether loyalty to the monarch at this period will be a principle of action equally strong to that popular enthusiasm which discomfited the armies of the coalesced kings, at the commencement of the Revolution, when deputies from the committee of safety were despatched to different parts with pretty much the same dictatorial powers, as have been assigned to the extraordinary commissioners just decreed by Napoleon. It appears surprising, that, excepting the armies of Soult or Davoust, on or near the frontiers of France, there is no certainty of any great regular army as yet in existence, at all equal to contend in the interior with the numerous and now well disciplined armies of the allied powers; and, from all that appears as yet to

the contrary, France must, in this great crisis of her fate, be saved by a levy en masse, or an interposition of the people, the ultimate refuge of the most military despot. The veteran armies of France, in the course of a twenty years' war, are extinguished; and even its armed population, it may be suspected, is much inferior in number to what the national exaggeration has made it.

Whatever might have been the preliminaries for peace offered by the Allies, and accepted by Napoleon, certain it is, that previous treaties have already taken place between the allied powers. Holstein is taken possession of by the Crown Prince, as a pledge for the future cession of Norway to Sweden, for which Denmark is to be compensated. The people of Holstein are told by proclamation, "not to meddle in political matters; to submit quietly to such transfer as the circumstances of the times, that is, as the will of the allied powers shall direct." The Danish army, separated from the French under Davoust, has been obliged to seek for safety in the fortress of Rensberg, and an armistice solicited by the Danes has been agreed to, under the mediation of Austria.

Austria indeed seems to hold in her hand the balance of Europe, and as a testimony of her moderation, she republished in the Frankfort Gazette the Declaration she issued last August, in which the demands and conditions remain the same as they were before the victory of the Allies at Leipsic; and in which declaration it is stated, that if a general peace could not be made, a preliminary continental peace might be negotiated, that is to say, the conditions of a maritime peace (in which the commercial interests of Britain are particularly involved) might be put out of consideration for the present, until

a peace at land were effected. Whether Lord Castlereagh be sent to the Continent to qualify the manifesto of the Allies, which is said to have been issued without consulting the English envoy, Lord Aberdeen, or to clear up the question respecting the Sovereignty of Holland, or to cause the maritime rights of Britain to be fully recognized by any congress upon the Continent, are points of public curiosity, and interest, not yet ascertained. But we are inclined to suspect, that the same jealousy of those maritime rights, or that naval ascendancy, may perhaps inspire the coalesced Princes, which had agitated the breast of Napoleon.

This unprecedented commixture of the Sovereigns and subjects of Europe, will probably lead to a thorough examination of its general interests on the ocean, as well as on the land; and the great commercial commonwealth will be placed, probably without regard to the particular interests of any single nation, on the basis of common utility. At the earliest period of history, mankind were dispersed for the purpose of peopling the earth, and alienated from each other by difference of language, as by a wall of separation, and now, for purposes of civilization, it may be ordained, that the population of Europe should be brought even from its extremities, into closer contact. Thus by a freer international intercourse, all may contribute to the universal welfare, and raise that edifice of public law, on the base of political justice, which may join Earth to Heaven.* "The independence, by

* If party politics had permitted, we should have wished, that Lord Castlereagh had been accompanied to the Continent by Sir James Mackintosh, a gentleman eminent for his knowledge of international law, and who delivered a

sea and land, of all governments politically known at the commencement of the war," is certainly a preliminary basis, which recognizes by anticipation the maritime rights of every nation, and repels the exclusive claims of Britain. These claims may appear to the convention of sovereigns irreconcilable with that free communication and exchange, which the author of the world has intended, by giving to its nations, soils, climates, and characters so distinct from each other.

Yet it is not to be readily believed, that such a preliminary basis of a treaty, as we have quoted from the public prints, could ever have been accepted by Napoleon, nor indeed do we think it consistent with the moderation of the Frankfort manifesto. It is a basis that in *itself* prescribes the conditions of the treaty, and precludes all discussion on the part of France. It is dictation at the will of conquerors, not a subject matter of mutual compromise; and we think that Napoleon

should, in reply, make use of similar words to those of the brave Poniatowski, "Let us rush into the Rhine, rather than *thus* surrender to our enemies."

For our parts, as we deprecated the conquest of Europe by France, so we now deprecate the subjugation of France by Europe. We speak of *France*, of the *people* of France, for, we think, there will not, in the event of a successful invasion by the allied powers, be any distinction made between the sovereign and the nation. Invasion will proceed upon the principles of conquest; the moderation of manifestoes will be considered only as a warlike manoeuvre; and France, that great and gallant nation, would not only lose its rank, but probably its very existence among European powers; while the Cossacks of the Don, and the semi-barbarians of the Wolga, would settle on the banks of the Loire and the Seine. We feel all the sympathies of humanity for every people *thus* invaded, and we might even wish, that this great people should once more rouse itself in its revolutionary strength, and that by the consequent balance of antagonist powers, peace might be quickly accomplished on the grounds of mutual respect, and mutual concession. We have no national and internecine antipathies against the *people* of France; and we have never been treated in a manner which would encourage an exclusive predilection for England. That is not *our* crime, nor *our* fault, nor *our* misfortune. *It is hers*. And the sooner she makes ample reparation for her past conduct, ample compensation, not as hush-money to individuals, but as satisfaction *to the whole community*, the more advantageous will it be to her present interests, and the more will it redound to her future glory.

Sanguinary battles were fought

course of lectures on the subject before he went to India; the introductory lecture of which course he published, withholding the rest, from what motives he knows best. Sir James, after enjoying in India for seven years a salary, as Judge, of £6,000 per annum, has returned on a pension, for life, of £3,000. We doubt not, that, like his Madeira, he has profited by *taking the rounds*. It was indeed supposed by men of refined taste, that the wine, though of an excellent body, was somewhat adulterated by foreign admixture, but Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, (and who were better judges?) after trying a sample, swore it was *peculiar* Madeira, and the former, in particular, wished that he could hold under lock and key a whole cellar full of it. How much improved by the voyage in strength of body, and purity of spirit, the History of Britain, during the last century, about which Sir James is said to be employed, will, we hope, determine to the satisfaction of all parties.

from the 9th to the 13th December, on the frontiers of Spain and France, between Lord Wellington and Soult, whose attacks on these days were all repelled by the valour of the British, though attended with severe loss, amounting to 4000 killed and wounded, including the Portuguese. Two German regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, 1700 rank and file, have come over from the enemy, and it is asserted that 1200 of our troops have deserted. Lord Wellington has been obliged to make severe examples to repress pillage and devastation, and is placed in a situation, that it is necessary for him to advance or to retreat. He will, it is probable, co-operate in the invasion of France; and Soult has, it is said, retreated farther into the country.

The war-loving part of the community are so strong as considerably to abate the hopes of our soon possessing peace. They are decidedly clamorous for war, under one or another pretence. At one time they, with a coward's fear, affect to dread the power of Bonaparte, and call for the restoration of the Bourbons, as if former experience were altogether forgotten, and as though the Bourbons had not been found to oppress their subjects, and disturb their neighbours under the old regime. Reminded of former times, they declaim against the French, whom, as a nation, they have been taught to hate under the Bourbons, under the various changes of the revolution, and under Bonaparte. So that the object with the mass of the people appears to be war, interminable war. To this dreadfully perverted state, they have made up their minds and their habits. Many advanced nearly to half of the period usually assigned to the life of man, can scarcely have a notion of a state of peace, except by report. Let a man

of thirty-five look back, and all the *thinking* period of his existence, has been passed during the last twenty years of war. He has grown up amid tales of slaughter, with which his ears have been too familiar, and which, through a system of relaxed morality, he has too seldom heard reprobated, or war spoken of, as it really is, as destructive of human happiness. Self-interest joins the crowd of bad passions concerned in promoting the prolongation of war, which relieves many families from the burden of providing for their younger branches. War thus becomes a coldly calculating trade, by which to dispose of the profligate, and provide a means for alleviating oppressive burdens. Many dislike peace, lest their sons should return to them unprovided for, or at most, with only half pay, while they had acquired habits not well suited to the quiet tenor of peace. This remark holds true respecting all the various military ranks, soldiers as well as officers. The writer recollects, that during the interval of disturbed repose, in the short cessation of the war, in 1802, on crossing the channel in a very crowded packet between Dublin and Parkgate, a large portion of the cabin passengers were officers of the army and navy; they lamented their situation in peace, and were clamorous in expressing their hopes for a recommencement of their trade, which they fondly anticipated. "A speedy renewal of the war," was their accustomed toast, drunk with unblushing effrontery by these thoughtless young men. Their folly might admit of some palliation, but there is room to apprehend, if some of their fathers had been present, the unreflecting folly of the sons would have been seconded by the calculating policy of the fathers. We often hear of the brave defend-

ers of our country. The idea is poetic, but quite contrary to the maxims of real life. Neither officer nor soldier enters the army, except with a view to the emoluments. Patriotism is out of the question. The trade of arms is a sordid profession, and engaged in with the same views as the weaver and the merchant enter on their employments. A certain slang affects our whole language, and to this source only can be referred the fashionable phraseology, adopted through a false and pernicious courtesy as to the profession of arms. Let us learn an appropriate language, accurately to designate ideas, and to call every thing by its proper name.

Thus the disease of a fondness for war spreads wide, and its extensive influence bids fair to entail misery on the people, if the interested voice of the advocates for war should influence the present negotiations. Doubts may reasonably be entertained of the sincerity of some of the negotiators. The character of Lord Castlereagh is well known in Ireland; more fully perhaps than in England. His conduct at the period of the Union affixes a lasting mark on him. Will he, in his diplomatic character, now act fairly and candidly? Or will his skill be as great in moulding the allies to his views, as in dexterously *convincing* the Irish members of the utility of the Union, by means which notwithstanding the diversity of sentiment as to the measure, have been universally not held in estimation? Lord Castlereagh is a supple courtier, desirous of popularity, and who wishes to be at the head of public sentiment. He appears content to follow it, if he cannot lead it, so only that he is in a conspicuous station of activity. In the hands of a man fond of popularity on any terms, the general voice in favour of war

may operate very unfavourably against peace, in the negotiation. If a negotiator is more disposed to accommodate by a temporizing policy, and to yield to shifting opinions, rather than be guided by a steady attention to an undeviating line of rectitude, there is much room to dread that we may not have an issue to the negotiation in a peace on fair and moderate terms, although peace is required equally on principles of sound policy and justice.

The holding of such language as the foregoing is certainly not the direct road to temporary popularity. They who use it must subject themselves to the odium of being out of the fashion. Originality of sentiment is much wanted. Many follow in the beaten track, to avoid "the insupportable fatigue of thought;" and few are inclined to deviate from the prescribed round; some restrained by modesty, but more by a fear of departing from the mode. They prefer the insipidity of compliance to the task of deliberately forming their own opinions. Thus many "hark in" with the general voice, and fear to lose a character for softness, which might be better exchanged for firmness. In the hours of social intercourse, much occurs to wear down originality of character, and lower the standard of intellectual excellence; for in the present times, the formation of character depends too much on what has not unaptly been styled "the muddy current of conversation," instead of the more severe, but salutary process of retired individual study.

"Virtue, for ever frail as fair below,
Her tender nature suffers in the crowd,
Nor touches on the world without a stain.
The world's infectious: few bring back at
eve,
Immaculate, the manners of the morn.

Something we thought is blotted ; we resolved

Is shaken ; we renounced, returns again.
Nor is it strange ; light, motion, concourse,
noise,

All scatter us abroad. Thought, outward-bound,

Neglectful of our home-affairs, flies off
In fume and dissipation ; quits her charge,
And leaves the breast unguarded to the
foe.

Present example gets within our guard,
And acts with double force, by few repell'd.

Ambition fires ambition ; love of gain
Strikes, like a pestilence, from breast to
breast.

Riot, pride, perfidy, blue vapours breathe,
And inhumanity is caught from man,
From smiling man ! —————

————— Safety dwells
Remote from multitude. The world's a
school

Of wrong, and what proficients swarm
around !

We must or imitate or disapprove ;
Must list as their accomplices, or foes :
That stains our innocence, this wounds our
peace."

A misanthropic seclusion from the world is not recommended, but a lofty independence of sentiment, not servilely adopting "the newest fashion of the heart." A tame servility of sentiment, afraid to offend, and ingloriously compromising a manly decided line of thinking for the sake of pleasing, and passing smoothly along, has ruined the public spirit of Belfast. The disease of this town, once of high renown, is a political atrophy, of which the symptoms are, great feebleness in the patients, accompanied with strong inclination to think well of their own state, amusing themselves with promising much, and performing nothing. If the juniors see the errors of the seniors, let them beware in time, or such as they now see others, whose conduct they reprobate, they themselves, in the downward tendency of human nature, when unrestrained and uncorrected, will soon become. The coun-

try deserted by the elders, calls for the services of the young. They are not called upon to relinquish their useful occupations, but to spend their leisure hours in the service of their country. For true patriotism begins at home, and the first duty of a good citizen is to discharge himself faithfully in his domestic relations, and by taking care of his private concerns, prove himself fit to take a share in the affairs of the state. They are not called upon to do mighty works unfitting their age or their strength ; to display ostentatious qualities, often more shewy than really useful, or all at once to become orators, or officious or rash intermeddlers ; but by cherishing the spark of liberty, prepare themselves to become useful in advocating the cause of freedom, which appears ready to fall in the streets, unheeded and neglected. Few there are who may not be thus useful ; splendid talents sometimes from mistaken views lead to ruin ; but plain common sense, acting on good principles, may be of great service. "The every day talent" so forcibly recommended by Counsellor Finlay in his delineation of the character of Counsellor O'Connell, as noticed in our last retrospect, is strongly recommended to the attention of the young men of Belfast, and the province of Ulster, as the only means of retrieving the lost character of this province, and preventing the degeneracy being continued through the succeeding generation. At present many of our youth are wasting their time in frivolous pursuits. A want of co-operation is felt, and that strength that arises from the concert of many in one cause, is not experienced. There is too much of a looking to others, while each, though connected with ought, should faithfully to discharge his duty, and act as if on himself depended the increase

of the public weal. If this disposition, stimulating *jointly and severally*, became prevalent, reform would be effected, and we should see better days, and should no longer have to complain, as at present, of the want of bright examples of honesty and zeal in the political world.

That intrepid and consistent veteran in the cause of parliamentary reform, Major Cartwright, is at present publishing a series of letters to Christopher Wyvill, another veteran reformer, who appears to be seduced by aristocratic connexions into a compromise of adopting the delusive phantom of a partial reform instead of radical reform. Capitulation with abuses generally leads to feebleness. If public spirit could be aroused it would be sufficient to produce a real, radical, parliamentary reform; and without this awakening, all partial, half-way attempts will be ineffectual. In them the public strength, sufficient, if properly exerted, to accomplish all that is wanting, will be lost, and no good effected. The decided language ought to be, "Give us our rights." Who, in common concerns, and in affairs of private interest, so much more powerful, and better managed by individuals, than those of the state, ever talks of *moderation* in having his property restored? Moderate reform is a delusive pretext to avoid all reform. Let the people be moderate in the manner of effectuating reform, but strong in the matter and extent of their demands. All attempts of later years to produce partial reforms have been nothing better than endeavours to strangle real and effectual reform. The people ought no longer to permit themselves to be deluded. It is sorrowful to see such a man as Christopher Wyvill arraying himself in the rags of seeming friends, but real op-

ponents of reform; and it is not a little curious to perceive by the correspondence, which we intend to lay before our readers as soon as we can spare room, that the same attempts were made in 1780, as at present, to divide reformers. The consequence was that nothing was then effected. The cause was lost, and war, and the additional progress of almost immeasurable corruption, have followed.

That Charles James Fox, under the influence of the Marquis of Rockingham, and his other aristocratic Whig friends, should, through the facility of his nature, be led to waver on the point of radical reform, and lend himself to disappoint the hopes in 1780, is cause of regret to the lovers of liberty, and casts a shade over the memory of this great, and in general, good man. Yet such is the fact, as proved by Major Cartwright in this correspondence. The Major is still zealous and honest in advocating the cause which occupied him in his earlier days. He emphatically styles "REPRESENTATION AS THE SUN AND SOUL OF OUR SYSTEM, AROUND WHICH, PEACE, CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, AND A FREE PRESS, AS SUBORDINATE PLANETS, ALL REVOLVE."

Most heartily do we wish success to the Major, and the other petitioners for Parliamentary Reform, when the petition shall come forward after the recess. We by no means relinquish our ardent and decided attachment to the cause, although of late we have seldom spoken on the subject. Preparatory measures of indispensable necessity, and claiming a priority, demand our attention. Emancipation, and equality of justice to Catholics, must precede united exertions in the general cause of reform. Let us aid our Catholic brethren in recovering their rights,

and then we can with more confidence claim their assistance in procuring the great good of reform, both for us and themselves. In the mean time, we cordially wish success to the English reformers, and hope in due time to follow in the wake of their movements; and, as good is seldom speedily achieved, and not till after repeated defeats, we trust, we, as a nation, may yet be able to join in the triumph of accomplishment, not merely as lookers on, but as active and useful auxiliaries in the glorious cause.

The exertions of Catholics to suppress all tendency to disturb the public peace by any of their body, and to stop the formation of societies of Ribbonmen, are conspicuous in the various Documents we have placed at pages 47 to 56, inclusive. To most of our Irish readers they will not possess novelty, but to our English readers we particularly recommend them. They are well calculated to do away any unfavourable impression which may have been made on the other side of the channel, as we know has been the case, by the improper and unjustifiable speech of Dr. Dromgoole, which the enemies of equal rights have insidiously, and with bad intentions, industriously turned to suit their purposes of division.

The partial local disturbances in some districts, noticed in our last, still continue to exist. Yet it is hoped the acts of outrages are less frequent. Complaints are made, that the language of many of the poorer classes in some Counties in Ireland is ferocious, and their deeds are cruel. In admitting the truth of this censure, let the balance of even-handed justice be impartially held. Are the richer classes in these counties free? Is their conduct unblameable, and their

language either mild or enlightened? In their meetings, whether for the purposes of business or of sport, and in their convivial hours, many of them indulge in an indiscriminate abuse of the poor, and in unjust reflections on their religion, as the cause of the disturbances, without ever once turning their attention to grievances, which combine to produce dissatisfaction: nor do they consider how far their own conduct has a tendency to produce the effects. So long as the richer classes continue to act in an unfeeling irritating manner, so long will they be justly condemnable for effects naturally resulting from their own misconduct, and so long will Ireland continue to be an unhappy, disturbed, and divided country.

We must stop to notice an outrage nearer home. A man had been interred with military and *Orange* honours, in a burying-ground near Belfast. Some persons, irritated at the *Orange* procession, dug up the coffin, and placed it at a bridge at some distance from the graveyard. The act was wrong, and deserving of censure. But the procession calculated to insult, and expressly designed to keep alive party animosities, was equally wrong. To disinter a dead body, is a gross violation of propriety and decency. But in the very act of burying a deceased friend or relation, which ought always to be performed seriously and solemnly, to insult the living, and to make the attendant procession the occasion of displaying the virulence and power of a protected faction, is at least as great an outrage on good manners. The partiality of our newspaper press is justly to be complained of. One paper, which has peculiarly lent its columns with the hopes of propitiating this party, condemns one side, and compares

them to wolves, without noticing in the slightest degree the provocation which led to the act, although in it an impartial person might equally have discerned the ferocity of a beast of prey, delighting in insult and mischief. The other paper, with more impartiality, blames both, but hints as if the injured party were too apt to take offence. It is not in human nature to bear insults without complaining, and, unless a salutary self-restraint is exercised, without retaliation. But to judge impartially, whether offence has been justly taken or not, the best way is put ourselves in the situation of those who complain, and consider how we would like to be insulted by processions intended to turn us into ridicule. The outrages of the County of Armagh, so infamous in story, and so cruel in effect,* seem now likely to be renewed in Belfast and its neighbourhood, under the shelter of a scion transplanted from the original stock, unless they are steadily and legally opposed. If the lower classes, finding themselves unprotected, take redress into their own hands, and violate the bounds of propriety, the richer classes must blame themselves, that, sunk in apathy and a misjudging selfishness, they do not shield by an exercise of the law, those who stand in need of protection, and by every legal means repress **ILLEGAL ASSOCIATIONS**. To express disapprobation of such proceedings, the town meeting was called, but the good effects which were expected to result, were defeated by violence and trick on one side, and by servile timidity on the other. If a proper line of conduct

had then been followed, attempts at redress would have been taken out of the hands of a mob, often acting under the influence of their passions, on unenlightened principles, and the rule of equal administration of the laws, would have been the consequence. Let the press do its duty, if town meetings will not. Nothing is more easy, than to pronounce with affected impartiality, those slight censures, which hurt or help no cause, whether of vice or of virtue, and to chant or cant from the editorial chair, the praises of moderation. But "in the deed, the unequivocal authentic deed," let the disapprobation of party be marked.

We regret to find, that, some time ago, a riot took place at the Catholic meeting at Derry, which has since been the cause of a legal investigation at the Quarter Sessions in that city. Possessing no direct local information on the subject, and afraid to trust the distorted accounts published in the newspapers, we forbear to express any opinion on the merits of the question, but are sorry to see a good cause stained by party riots, Catholic arrayed against Catholic, in which at least one party, and probably both, are to blame. Counsellor O'Gorman attended in the defence, and spoke in a conciliating manner, to try to reconcile if possible the contending parties. Some other of the speeches had more the appearance than reality of conciliation. Sir George Hill, in his speech as Recorder, on passing sentence, disclaims for himself, and the corporation of Derry, that they are Orangemen. We are pleased to see this disavowal. It affords a proof, that the faction is in some places getting out of fashion, when men take pains to disclaim that they belong to it. If the

* For an authentic account of the commencement of Orangism, see a Document at page 55.

Corporation of Derry are not Orange, they at least are sufficiently Anti-Catholic, and at their late Orange Boven, or tumultuous festival of some days continuance, manifested their disposition to annoy their neighbours, whose creed may in some respects differ from their own.

Some of those who are in the habit of speaking without reflection, talk of the excellency of our laws. If these words convey any precise meaning, or are intended as more than mere expletives to fill up conversation, or round an unmeaning period, it may be asked; are the game-laws included in this excellence? A poor man was seized, a few days ago, with a hare in his possession, which he had brought into a town for the purpose of selling. He is subject by the laws to a fine of £5. This a grievance, and ought to be redressed. A hare is a wild animal, and cannot be made subject to individual appropriation. The poacher, as an offender of this class is called, may find the hare on his own grounds destroying his property, or he may follow the employment to procure an honest livelihood. He transgresses no moral law. But the hunters choose to be a privileged class, and their friends and associates in Parliament pass a law to protect the gentlemen who delight in the chase, and who certainly are not in general the most useful or the most enlightened members of the community. Is this equal justice? The hunter is privileged by custom, *though not by law*, in breaking down his neighbour's fences, in his unworthy and inglorious pursuit after the hare. This is another bad effect of the idle practice of hunting, and of the privileges conferred directly or indirectly by the system of the game-laws.

Let us now rapidly glance at the

state of manners in England. Intolerance has also its abode there, especially in the extremities. The following instance bears witness.

"A singular circumstance took place about a week ago, in the neighbourhood of Penrith. A farmer, who had always expressed a great aversion to baptizing or christening, had a child which died, and, in consequence of his predilection that none of his children should ever undergo the ceremony, the parishioners refused it burial, and application was made at Penrith, where a grave was prepared; but, previous to the time of interment, the circumstance came to the knowledge of the Vicar, who ordered the grave to be filled up again. When the child was brought to the town, they were much disappointed at what had taken place, and, after waiting a length of time to no purpose, were necessitated to return home, and seek out for some other place of burial.—*Sheffield Iris, Dec. 21.*"

Take another specimen relating to the tour of the Prince Regent.

"In our anxious solicitude to convey to the public the particulars of that which transpires at this princely mansion [Belvoir Castle], we omitted to state, in the report of the christening, the name of the infant Marquis of Granby. He was baptized by the name of George John Frederick. The house contains more than two hundred individuals, who partake daily of the festivities. The cistern of punch, under the management of Mr. Douglas, administered in the servants'-hall, on Tuesday, to the household and tenantry, *laid many a brave fellow prostrate*. The passages of the house reminded one of a castle taken by storm, and the young Marquis, the noble host, and the Prince Regent, were toasted *until articulation ceased*. Ma-

ny were found the next day in the subterraneous passages of the Castle, with symptoms of recovering animation. The punch was not out at ten on Wednesday morning. This cistern, according to the history of the County, was filled with cordial, when John Duke of Rutland, father of the present Duke, was born. The silver cistern is sixteen feet in circumference, holds 60 gallons, and is a matchless piece of workmanship. Ale, at the rate of 21 strike to the hogshead, is now making, to be kept till the young Marquis becomes of age, by the blessing of Providence. The festivities will cease to-morrow, when his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and his Royal Brother, will leave Belvoir Castle for Burleigh, the seat of the Earl of Winchelsea. There will be open house again at the castle, on Monday, when the Duke's birth-day will be kept in the usual style of old English hospitality."

This paragraph appears in all the London papers, and is probably the production of a scribe hired jointly by the editors for the purpose. It has been said, that the records of the Royal progress were written and sent round to the different papers by one who attended in the suite of the Prince, as historiographer of the debauch. It affords a dismal sample of the profligacy of the press, when such acts are recorded without censure, and with seeming approbation. The effect is immoral in the highest degree, for vice is thus rendered familiar. The huge cistern of punch, the avowed drunkenness below stairs, and the probably no less degree of debauchery in the higher and very highest rank, altogether afford a disgusting picture of modern manners. Yet even here, the propensity to cant is apparent, when in such an account, "*the blessing of Providence*" is prostituted, and profaned by the

allusion to the strong beer brewed for a future debauch contemplated at the ensuing period of twenty-one years.

But this is the new era of hypocritical cant. Southey, after sacrificing all his former opinions, and covering his apostacy with the Laureate Crown, has in his *Carmen Triumphale*, or *Triumphal Song*, prostituted his muse, and talks fluently of

"Glory to God! Deliverance for mankind!"

Where is the just cause for triumph in the present state of affairs, or where is the deliverance for mankind? The cause of kings may triumph, and the old may regain the ascendancy over the new, only to rivet the chains more closely; but what do the people gain? The interests of the people only claim the attention of the philosopher, let venal poets sing as they please. Southey adds his name to the debasement of genius in a catalogue, alas, for the honour of human nature, already too numerous.

Bonaparte also deals largely in cant. Never was infatuation greater than to suppose his name was a rallying point for liberty. A personal, sordid, selfish ambition absorbed the whole man. In the full meridian of his power, he obsequiously courted the favour of the royalist party, while he treated with the utmost contempt the republicans. Dazzled with the splendour of his newly acquired royalty, he despised the people, and he now has the effrontery to boast through his orator, de Fontanes, of his services in the cause of kings, his reluctant confederates, with whom he wished to sink his fortune, and of the gratitude they owe to him "for re-establishing the throne of France, and closing up the crater of the volcano which threatened them all." He also, through the same channel, dares

to reproach the people, as "agitated by all the diseases of pride, and averse to bend under the authority which protects them." Alexander, the Autocrate of all the Russias, could not have used more insolent and insulting language. Napoleon's speeches, and those of his obsequious orators, are as haughty and anti-jacobin as the most absurd manifestoes issued by the old governments during the last twenty years. Let truth be spoken, regardless of any side on which the censure may fall. The dislike to Bonaparte felt by the friends of liberty is quite different from the motives which lead to the abuse of him by the men who hold opinions in common with him, and who hate him only because they fear him. The former dislike him because he is hostile to the cause of freedom, ever nearest to their hearts, under every change of circumstances.

The bad traits in the character of Bonaparte are peculiarly and exclusively his own, while some circumstances which threw a temporary lustre over his name, appear not to belong to him. The Code Napoleon, of whose general merits much has been justly said in praise, did not emanate from him. His name was assumed, and it is said that the Abbé Syeyes, and other enlightened men of the revolutionary school, composed that elaborate, useful, and enlightened work. The proclamation of the self-called Lewis the 18th, terms it a collection of the ancient ordinances of the kingdom. This also is an error. Its merits, and great they are, arose from the legitimate effects of the revolution.

The change for the better, which the French have experienced in their condition by the abolition of tithes, feudal rights, corvees, the gabelle, and other oppressive and ruinous taxes, resulted from the revolution.

Bonaparte counteracted all these good effects, as far as the times and circumstances would permit him, and yet his favourers praise the man who paralyzed the revolution, and who joining himself to the cause of kings, has acted with uniform hatred towards the cause of the people.

Bonaparte, in his empty declamation deals in moral apophthegms. He says, "prosperity did not elevate him, neither shall adversity depress him; and that he meditated many plans for the good of mankind." Idle words! Now since the superstitious notion of his invincibility is broken, a notion prevalent in France, and common with many among ourselves, he finds it difficult to arouse the spirit of the French nation; nor is their apparent apathy to be wondered at; the cause is not their own, but merely about a change of masters; and thus they appear to have lost that *spring* which the energy of freedom conferred in the early periods of the revolution; when the cause was peculiarly the cause of the people. The animation of liberty is now wanting, and if they again submit to the miserable misrule of the Bourbons,* to the incapacity of the feeble Monsieur, now styling himself king, and to the open profligacy of the ci-devant Count D'Artois, who by his misconduct, accelerated the crisis of the revolution, and was a chief cause of the explosion of the volcano, this termination to many struggles will only prove

* In a former number of the Magazine, praise was bestowed on Moreau, under the supposition that his plans were calculated to promote the restoration of liberty, and not of the Bourbons. If the latter, as it now appears probable, was his object in his junction with the allies, let his name descend to posterity with the infamy which his conduct justly incurred.

to what debasement a nation will submit, when the vital spark has become nearly extinct, through the degrading influence of despotism. But let us not despair: let us hope better things of the cause of liberty, and of the world, than to suppose that the French will ever prove so besotted as to submit to the restoration of the Bourbons.

If Bonaparte should be hurled from the pinnacle of his ill-gotten and ill-employed power, the consistent friends of liberty may justly exclaim, "So may all fall who seek to build their private fortunes at the expense of the prosperity and happiness of a nation, regardless of its interest, or the good of mankind!" Cromwell destroyed liberty by his usurpation of power from the people, and rendered unavailing the efforts to procure and secure it in England. He aggrandized himself, and the people sunk. Bonaparte has acted a similar part, and a like result may probably take place in France, by destroying the spring, or elasticity of the public mind. The moderation and virtues of a Washington happily preserved the infant liberties of America, and held forth the consoling and animating example of the sufferings attendant on a revolution not having been in vain. The revered name of Washington holds a proud pre-eminence over the sullied fame of Cromwell and Bonaparte, whose names will descend to posterity, tarnished with the crimes of liberticide and insatiable ambition.

After exposing cant in so many forms, it may be allowed to express a wish that the language of the Allies in their declaration from Frankfort, may not hereafter subject them to a similar imputation, if their future conduct should falsify their memorable words, that "a great nation can be tranquil only in proportion as it is happy." May

their own administration in their respective governments prove that these words have a meaning better founded than mere hypocritical pretence. If they hereafter act in a manner to promote the happiness of the people, and consider government as a trust for the good of the community, and not for the emolument of the prince, they will prove themselves worthy of reigning. Thus the allied Emperors and Kings would offer more of "the true incense of the heart," than if they had really acted in the manner attributed to them by the manufacturers of news in London, who represented the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, as falling on their knees to return thanks to "the God of Battles" (words conveying an absolute profanation of the attributes of the Deity, the common father of all mankind,) for the victory, in all the pomp of *stage trick*, and repeating to each other, "the Lord is with us." Probably such a scene existed only in the distempered imaginations of the editors of the Star, the Times, and the Courier, who, to please the vitiated taste of the public, are now sounding the alarm of continued war, and using the most strenuous exertions to rouse the British people to a mad crusade in favour of the Bourbons.

The contest with the United States of North America is assuming features of peculiar ferocity; occasioned by the claims on one side, and the refusal on the other to recognise the right of transferring allegiance from the country of birth, to the country adopted through choice or necessity.— Britain threatens to execute some persons born within her dominions, who have been found in arms in the American service. America puts a number of British subjects into

close custody, to answer, if any lives should be taken; and Britain retaliates. We hope that wise and moderate counsels may yet prevail, to prevent any rash proceedings in this case, and to spare afflicted humanity the spectacle which, notwithstanding the atrocities of modern civilized war, has latterly been without a precedent. What deep-stained guilt will attach to the nation, or the individuals, who shall be the first to act in this ferocious manner of carrying on war!

CORRESPONDENCE.

GENTLEMEN,

It was with no small degree of interest that I read in your publication for November, a copy of a paper purporting to be a certificate from an Orange Lodge in the neighbourhood of Lisburn, containing proof of an extirpatory oath having been adopted by the society, under whose seal the certificate had been issued. I had heard of such a paper being exhibited in the Grand Jury-room in Downpatrick, in 1811. But hearing nothing more concerning it, I did suppose that it had been acknowledged to be a fabrication; for it appears to have been the duty of the gentleman who is said to have produced it at that time, to have taken further steps toward elucidating the business. To you, Gentlemen, who are in possession of the original document, the public, and the society in question, are indebted for your candid exposure, which allows the parties a hearing, and the public a decision between them.

I have seen a handbill, dated Derryaghy, December 16, 1813, and signed by John Tucker, James Rea, and William Martin, which comments on your publication of that certificate. I can easily pass over and forgive expressions of irritation so natural to be called forth, by being supposed to be implicated in so heinous a bond of association. But you who give them an opportunity of repelling the calumny, if such it is, which has had some circulation, are surely not entitled to those asperities which they have vented, and which, with a discreet public, will not derogate from the charac-

ter of the Belfast Magazine. The defence signed by Messrs. Tucker, Rea, and Martin, commences with a recital of the offensive words, and then declares that such a "*form of certificate never*" existed among them, adding, what indeed was necessary, that those words were a base, impudent, and audacious fabrication.

It has been asserted in various publications, that in the course of the year 1809, there was a meeting by deputation of several English and Irish Lodges, in Dublin. That it was then argued by the Irish deputies, or rather by some of them, that a more energetic bond of union than had hitherto existed, or than was pleasing to the Englishmen, or perhaps necessary in their country, must be adopted in Ireland. Now if any extension of the old system had taken place, even partially, at this time, and had been adopted by a society, of which a man who had disapproved of such measure, but had become a member in 1798, what would his conduct naturally be? As a christian he would decide not to take such an oath or engagement, as this is supposed to be; nor, in all probability, would he desert the principles under which he had originally engaged. He would say, I joined your society when I thought the constitution was in danger, and that it was the duty of every loyal man to rally round it in its defence. Give me therefore a certificate of those engagements which I have taken in your society, and I will withdraw from it, and seek for brotherhood among others, whose views are not so hostile to society. And I now add, that it was equally to be expected that the society which had adopted such an engagement, while they could not refuse the justice of his demand, would add a caution, not as it is represented in the defence, *to his brethren not to recognise him*, but not to recognise him under the NEW SYSTEM, which last are the words said to have been in the certificate. And this view of the matter seems to be borne out by the line which I see in the margin; *Entered June 24, 1798, Drew off June 29, 1809.* I trust there are thousands of Orangemen of 1798, who would have associated with him, and have befriended him as a brother, under those circumstances. This, in my opinion, does away the absurdity of such a certificate being found in Walker's possession, on which the defence dwells so strongly. You mention that some attempts were made by chemical means to restore the parts which are oblit-